ДОКУМЕНТЫ ВСТРЕЧИ АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТОВ В г.БЕРЛИН, 25-29.НОЯБРЯ 1992 г.

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DOCUMENTS OF THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST MEETING HELD IN BERLIN, 25-29.NOVEMBER 1992

Дорогие друзья/товарищи!

Вашему вниманию предлагаем "документы" анархо-синдикалистской встречи по средней и восточной Европе, проведенной с 25 по 29 ноября 1992 г. в Берлине. Преобладание документов на английском языке объясняется, по-видимому, бóльшей популярностью этого языка среди участников встречи, лучшей технической оснащенностью товарищей на западе. Надеемся что те, кто не читает по-английский, все-таки узнает о содержании англоязычных приложений через переводчика или же через друга, обладающего тем языком.
Всего Вам хорошего!

Рабочая группа ФАУ по средней и восточной Европе

Dear Comrades,

here are the "documents" of the anarcho-syndicalist East-West meeting held in Berlin from 25-29.November 1992. The majority of the material sent in, as well as that produced during the meeting, was in English. As we are printing all material submitted to us, the dominance of English does not reflect the actual break-up of languages at the actual meeting. In future a major printing and publishing effort will be required to ensure that non-English-speaking comrades are not disadvantaged.

FAU Working Group on Central and Eastern Europe

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2.

Workers Solidarity Alliance

U.S. Section of the International Workers Association

International Secretary

339 Lafayette St., Room 202, New York, NY 10012 (212) 979-8353

GREETINGS TO THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST EAST-WEST MEETING

Berlin, November 1992

Dear comrades:

Revolutionary greetings on behalf of the U.S. Section of the I.W.A., the Workers Solidarity Alliance.

Due to various circumstances it is not possible for us to attend this very important conference. Although we may not be with you in person, we are with you in spirit and solidarity.

As many of you are already aware, the WSA is very active in supporting and publicizing information about the growth of anarcho-syndicalist ideas and the development of the independent workers' movement in the east. This support has been actively given since our formation in November 1984.

The struggles of our eastern comrades and the workers of those lands have been an inspiration to many of us in the west. We now hope that we can be of further assistance in your efforts to organize and counter-act the sweeping capitalist ideological, racial and nationalistic offensives that are currently occuring in the east.

As we know in the west, the struggle for freedom and self-management will be difficult. As in the east, the conservative offensive is also hitting us hard in the west. In our report to this conference you will see that unemployment and poverty have reached large scale proportions. Racism is also on the rise here in the U.S. as well.

Tough times demand tough solutions. we are hopeful that this conference will begin the process of finding those solutions. despite our absence, the WSA will do all that it can in helping to implement any concrete and practical proposals that come out of this conference. We will also further continue our publicizing efforts through the pages of our publications (**east european news**,**workers solidarity** and **ideas & action**).

We wish you all the best in your discussions and deliberations. The WSA looks forward to hearing about the results from this conference in the not so distant future.

Good luck comrades! For a world without bosses, states and bureaucrats!

Yours in solidarity,

Workers Solidarity Alliance-IWA

M.Miller

for the National Committee

ТВЕРСКАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ 3.
КОНФЕДЕРАЦИИ АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТОВ

РОССИЯ,170028, г.Тверь, А/Я-213. Телефон:2-73-38.
Р/С-100700925 МФО: 131010 Тверьуниверсалбанк.

31.10.1992.

Тверская Конфедерация Анархо-Синдикалистов шлет горячий привет братьям по оружию, анархо-синдикалистам Восточной и Средней Европы, участникам совещания.

По невнимательности ваших товарищей из Берлина мы не можем приехать, так как Германское посольство отказало выдать визу из-за отсутствия медицинской страховки со стороны приглашающих.

У нас в России, а в частности в Твери перспективы Анархо-Синдикализма велики, ибо Россия по своему характеру анархичная страна, свободолюбивая. Но... Многое упирается в недостаточное количество пропаганды, то есть отсутствие своей печатной базы /типографии/. Это единственное, что тормозит движение у нас в России. А в остальном все нормально. Работаем, растем, к нашему мнению прислушиваются и даже берут себе на вооружение наши идеи /идеи анархо-синдикализма/ многие предприятия, организации и т.д. в России.

В июне 1994 года в Твери состоится семинар посвященный 180-и годовщине со дня рождения великого теоретика анархизма М.А.Бакунина. Заранее будут разосланы приглашения тем организациям, чьи адреса у нас есть.

Еще раз приеветствуем всех участников совещания желаем удачной, плодотворной работы.

Председатель КС - ХАЗОВ В.А. Тверская КАС
Зам.председателя - ЛУКЬЯНЕНКО В.В.
Председатель профс. орг. - САЗОНОВ Р.В.

RUSSIA,170028, TVER, P.O.Box -213, Phone: 2-73-38

"As a member of the co-ordinating committee of the Freie ArbeiterInnen Union I would like to welcome the comrades from Eastern and Central Europe to Berlin. We welcome also the comrades from other sections of the International Workers Association. And we thank the comrades of the FAU Eastern region and Berlin local group for the work they have done in organising this historic meeting. The members of the FAU hope that this meeting will improve both the communication and the cooperation between anarcha-syndicalists throughout Europe. We have a common struggle against the international capitalist system and against the state systems that we live under. Until recently the people of East and West Europe have been kept apart from each other by the division of Europe into blocs. Happily, that division is now over. Anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists have the chance to strengthen our contacts and work together for the first time in many decades.
Ordinary working people everywhere are struggling for better conditions and the right to manage their own lives. However, some of the people still believe in the illusion of freedom and prosperity that the liberal capitalist system offers. Despite its failure in the former Soviet bloc, others still believe that Marxism, with its centralised planning and illusion of socialism, has all the answers. More and more have lost faith in both systems and are turning to savage nationalism and fascist ideas. We must oppose all these systems. We must struggle against patriarchy, against racism, against militarism, and against all those who want to oppress or enslave us. Our struggle can only succeed if we work together across frontiers. Capitalism is international. The oppression of the ordinary people is international. Our struggle must also be international. Let us hope that this meeting here in Berlin, the first home of our International Workers Association, will be a further step forward towards a classless, self-managed society where we are all free, and no one lives in fear or need".

Frank Richardson-Schäfer, FAU International Secretary.

АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТСКУЮ БРОШУРУ "Принципы Международной ассоциации трудящихся /МАТ/" НА РУССКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ МОЖНО ПОЛУЧАТЬ ОТ РАБОЧЕЙ ГРУППЫ Ф.А.У. ПО СРЕДНЕЙ И ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ. ПИШИТЕ ПО АДРЕСУ: c/o A-Laden, Rathenowerstraße 22, W-1000 Berlin 21.

THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

«Сегодняшняя обстановка в мире».
Следующий текст прислали товарищи испанской CNT-AIT, крупнейшей анархо-синдикалистской организации в мире.
Не со всем ясно, откуда брали текст.
По всей вероятности речь идёт об изложении общей политической линии CNT-AIT.

This is a CNT-AIT position paper. The exact source is not known.

Here are two remarks by the translator:

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1. This document, which was sent to me week ago, has been summarised and translated very rapidly indeed. The faults and failures of this translation must be considered in that light. Richard C., Manchester Direct Action Movement-IWA.

2. This was written before the dissolution of the USSR.

THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION [1]

The economic and social situation of various parts of the world

a) The 'Third World'

Main points here are:

* The economic domination of the First World is made worse by the fact that trade is unequal. Due to an unproductive economy based on the exportation of raw materials and agricultural products, which in turn necessitates the importation of manufactured goods, the Third World is at considerable disadvantage in relation to the First.

So-called aid to the Third World is just in the form of loans which further debilitates the latter's economies. This keeps them in a state of under-development and economic dependency.

* The poorest social classes on a national level do not manage to liberate themselves from extreme poverty and repression. Any 'national revolution' only alter the structure of the ruling bourgeoisie and increase the exploitation of the working class. In 'national liberation movements' the working classes fulfil the role of cannon fodder in inter-statist and inter-capitalist struggles.

* The major obstacles for the social revolution in these areas are the influence of religion and nationalism. However, in many parts of Latin America, for example, there are advanced sectors of the youth which are receptive to libertarian ideas.

b) Eastern Europe[2]

Asfixiated by monstruous bureaucracies, the societies in the East of Europe have suffered great delay in modernisation of their military and economic sectors. The bureaucracy has made these countries incapable of standing up to world economic competition and, as a result, their capitalist development has been delayed. Even though their situation is not analagous to that of the Third World, the countries of Eastern Europe will be situated for a long time on the periphery of world international capitalism.

In particluar, the USSR is nowadays in a state of disintegration. The obsolete form of state in the East has created a profound economic crisis and has created dependency on the West. The economic situation of these countries will tend to become worse as democracy cannot solve their problems and the aid from the West will not come quickly due to the inestablity in the region.

The capitalist societies of the East fear disintegration as inter-ethnic and nationalist disputes will increase. In these times of increased capitalist competition, this disintegration cannot favour the social revolution and could have severe consequences for the whole of humanity.

As their standard of living falls, while unemployment and the cost of living increase, the workers of the East are beginning to lose their faith in democracy as abstention rates in elections show. Marxism in its practical form has made people hostile to advanced ideas, so what we may see in these countries is dictatorships, either fascist or monarchical-clerical.

c) The 'First World'

In the countries of the First World the democratic-capitalist state has invaded all aspects of human existence. Here, a kind of democratic-commercial totalitarianism is in place. This totalitarianism is to be seen in the increasing atomisation of human relationships and in the transformation of a large part of the proletariat into a statist class. The union bureaucracies have played a large part in this as has consumerism. The integration of large sectors of the working class into the democratic-capitalist system has an economic explanation: the exploitation of the Third World has allowed the Western bourgeoisie to give up a few of the crumbs from its banquet table.

The repercussions in the world economy due to the very serious economic situation in the Third World and East, increased competition between capitalist powers, the burden of technological and military development, have together placed the stability of the First World countries into doubt. It is increasingly difficult for example for young people, even with university qualifications, to gain a reasonably stable economic situation.

It is only the increase in racism and nationalism that will force the youth away from the practices of direct action and revolution. In order to maintain order, the 'democratic' countries of the West foster racism, nationalism and wars in lesser developed regions.

In the last few decades, rapid technological change has brought with it profound changes in labour structures, the composition of social classes and in the economy. The application of new technology has considerably reduced the number of paid workers in industry and agriculure, increasing therefore, the dependence on the tertiary sector. Scientific development has meant that the Marxist concepts of productive and unproductive work are now out-dated.

The increased use of technology has not removed the human element from the economy. Therefore, the social function of the workers can still be transformed into a potential revolutionary weapon. Indeed, the inter-dependence of this economy has made it all the more vulnerable. Nowadays, a minortiy of wrokers, either in industry or in the services, through sabotage, strike and other anarcho-syndicalist methods, can easily provoke disorganisation in the capitalist economy and paralise governmental activity.

ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF THE OVERALL WORLD ECONOMY

Society is moving towards a vast generalised crisis which will deeply question the basis of authoritarian capitalist society. This is due to several factors, some of which are listed here: increased unemployment, the questioning of the profit motive, the treatment of the Third World, migration from the poorer to the richer zones. The world capitalist system can only survive if it provokes successive disasters and wars.

While capitalist competition increases, social inequality also increases within countries and between regions of the world. The abyss which separates the powerful and the poor is ever-increasing. Contrary to what is said in the mass media, the social class war, rather than decreasing in strength, is in fact becoming more pronounced.

Nowadays, all regions of the globe are conditioned by the laws of the world capitalist economy. The lack of development in certain zones corresponds to the needs of the global authoritarian-capitalist system. Nowadays, there is no place for partial revolutions of a democratic, anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist or national liberation nature. The situation in which the Portuguese ex-colonies in Africa find themselves clearly shows the limitation of partial revolutions.

It is only the social, libertarian, egalitarian revolution which will fight the world counter-revolution.

The ruling classes of democratic capitalism have created representative democracies in those areas of conflict in the world. They hope that if people participate in the management of society in this way that social upheavals will be prevented.

The unions have played an important role in this and have impeded the direct action of the workers. Reformist unionism has been a fundamental tool in the integration of the working class in the democratic system.

The capitalist system has managed to integrate and neutralise partial, single issue struggles such as ecological and feminist issues. Methods of struggle which do not confront all aspects of the system will just be absorbed and prop up the existing state of affairs. It is only through a movement that is not institutionalised that the conditions for social revolution can be created. Now more than ever, the libertarian movement must act outside of the freedoms that have been conceded in the democratic states.

Union activity, even by means of anarchist-inspired unionism, which is essential, must be complemented by a specific anarchist organisation, which should not become totally absorbed by union activity.

The highly-sophisticated military and police services in capitalist states has meant that so-called terrorist activities are counter-productive. States are increasingly capable of fighting against isolated armed activity. This does not mean that

the use of direct action in the workplace and in other areas should not depend upon the use of violence or illegal activity. Neither does this mean that in areas where the working class is submitted to severe repression armed confrontation with the forces of the state should be ruled out. However, it is important not to confuse the social war with 'terrorist' actions of isolated groups.

Religions, which still have great power in most parts of the world, bolstered up by huge financial means, play a vital role in the maintenance of authoritarian societies. In many parts of the world they have managed to channel struggle into inter-ethnic disputes and nationalism and have been the prime movers in all wars. The activity of the religions constitutes the greatest obstacle in the development of anarchism. In contrast to what the Marxists say, religion does not constitute a problem of the superstructure but an essential prop of capitalism.

In many parts of the world, many libertarian ideas are accepted on a partial basis such as in education, sexuality and the refusal to accept certain aspects of authoritarianism. Running parallel to this this is an increase in the adoption of capitalist morality, the struggle for individual survival, atomisation of individuals which have decreased any feelings of solidarity and social responsibility.

Another problem is the lack of any revolutionary perspective even among the youth. Even though there may be an increased interest in anarchist ideas people cannot break with passivity and many people are sceptical bearing in mind the result of Marxist-Leninism.

If we bare in mind the powerful means that are at the disposal of the the counter-revolution in terms of the mass-media, we must acknowledge that it only a struggle that is directly related to the problems of survival that will create the basis for any future advance of libertarain ideas. The economic question is still a decisive one for the development of revolutionary activity.

The essence of capitalist society will not alter over the rest of this century. One of the major transformations that has taken place towards the end of this century has been the worsening of the most negative aspects of capitalism such as weapons of mass destruction and environmental destruction. The social revolution is not only desirable but is in fact necessary for the survival of the human race.

These massive technological changes that have taken place over the last decades do not imply that anarchism should 'adapt' itself to democracy, that the fundamentals of anarchist thought should be changed. On the contrary, these transformations and the collapse of Marxist-Leninism prove the viability and the universability of anarchist ideas.

The only viable alternative in a society in decadence is anarchism in contrast to a society which has produced AIDS, illness and lies.

III. Anarchist Strategy

We cannot produce a 'defensive' strategy characterised, for example, by the fight against the 'fascist threat'. We should neither make any concessions in our principals nor in our final objectives. The anarchist strategy must be founded upon an offensive, revolutionary internationalist basis.

In this context, acceptable forms of struggle would be against democracy and against militarism, racism, reformism, nationalism, all of which are designed to prevent unity and solidarity in the world. Also we need to:

* Create a vast, practical, social union based on solidarity between the exploited of the Third and the exploited of the First World. This should not just be on the level of mere activities of international solidarity but rather on the level of internationalist action and movements. Strikes and support to those which spill over national boundaries must be one essential aspect of anarchist strategy nowadays. A revolution cannot take place in a national area alone. The revolution in Iberia must be seen as part of a European revolution and as part of a world event.

This union which is directed against the ruling classes in all parts of the world must avoid any kind of collaboration between the exploiters and the exploited. It is characterised by the idea of a 'world social class war'.

It is clear that the struggle for this union must involve anarchists in the International Workers' Association (IWA).

The general strike and the anti-statist violent insurrection are the major tools that should be used. The general strike creates a kind of short circuit in the functioning of the government and capitalist economy and the anti-statist violent insurrection must dispose of the police and military forces completely.

Both these need organisation and preparation. As May 68 in France shows the development of a general strike and armed insurrection is not definite. They are not a product of 'spontaneous' popular movements. Organised action is an indispensable key to the social revolution. If we do not organise ourselves in this way we make way for the counter-revolution and for our movements to be deviated onto purely political paths. This is what occurred in Portugal after April 1974 in which a popular movement was transformed into a prop for a political movement.

It is important that the struggle against the organised religions is picked up by the youth so as to transform human ethics, thought and relationships.

We need to create a 'tendency' within the anarchist movement which would be organised, coherent and opposed to any reformist tendencies. This tendency would fight against the 'democratic' libertarians who wish to capitulate anarchism to capitalism. It is natural that this 'democratic' tendency exists, especially

after the decline of Marxism, as the counter-revolution looks for a space in which to propagate its ideas.

In summary, the following are indispensable to a revolutionary, internationalist and offensive strategy: the struggle against democracy, against reformist unions, militarism, racism and religion. We must also establish international revolutionary movements and reinforce international solidarity.

In this light the struggle against fascism is seen as part of the anti-capitalist, anti-statist fight and forms an integral part of the general movement for the social revolution against the state and capitalist counter-revolution.....

This anti-nationalist stance does not imply that anarchists do not fight against invasions of one country by another and does not mean that anarchists should not show solidarity with Third World countries fighting against imperialism.

IV. Revolutionary Tactics

The tactical method to adopt is direct action in its widest sense. It is through the practice of direct action which dispenses with intermediaries that struggles can be channelled against goverments and by means of which single struggles can be transformd into those that attack the whole basis of this society.

Direct action is particularly relevant in the workplace, in the form of anarcho-syndicalism, and in those struggles related to youth problems and women.

Anarcho-syndicalism is particularly important not only because it represents the internationalist alternative to union bureaucracies and state unionism, but also because it prepares workers for the destructive and constructive tasks of the social revolution.

MINUTES (ПРОТОКОЛ)

MINUTES:FRIDAY (1).

At the start of the session a number of working groups were suggested.
1. On the possibility of uniting Anarchosyndicalists in East and Central Europe on the Principles of the IWA.
2. On the creation of an international school in the Ukraine.
3. On the creation of an international Center for Information and Co-ordination (printing and publishing center) in the Ukraine.
4. On the co-ordination of an information network, a bulletin, further contacts and the next meeting.
5. On the problem of multiple visas, for entry and re-entry, for Russians.
6. On the creation of a fund for Mutual Aid.
7. Discussion of Anarchosyndicalist theory, including the current situations of the participating organisations and thier experiences.
8. On organisational documents, What resolutions we wanted to pass, and what agreements we wanted to make.
9. On the repression of our comrades, Tamara and Igor in Moldavia.

There then (14.15) followed a summary of the discussions held on Wednesday and Thursday.

With reference to a Center for Information and Co-ordination it was noted that it would be cheaper to set it up in the ex-soviet union. However, there are some problems with the infrastructure in Russia and the other republics. There is also some instability in the Anarchist movement there, and lack of good contacts between the groups.
In principle the foundation of a center was agreed on as a good idea, but the practical details and place were not agreed on. A bulletin was also seen as a good idea. A printing center was also seen as necessary.

There was a proposal from the Secretary of the IWA that comrades from the West should visit East and Central European groups, do talks etc, possibly as part of the activities of a future center, but also without the center existing. The comrades from the SAC international committee said that they have already done some visits and given technical assistance and equipment to the Moscow group, KASKOR.

There was then some discussion about KASKOR, with information being given to the meeting by the russian comrades. There is now no formal contact between the KAS and KASKOR. Moscow KAS is now very small. KASKOR has become a commercial information center for the gathering and distribution of news, selling it to anyone who can pay. There are links to Lambertist Trotskyists and no longer is there a relationship with the Anarchosyndicalist movement. There are no Anarchosyndicalist representatives involved. KASKOR do not let other groups use their facilities. They have sent out one (free) issue of an information bulletin, but it was not Anarchosyndicalist in character. It had only general coverage of the workers movement. KASKOR filter and edit all the information they put out. They co-operate with Marxist groups and the official unions.

MINUTES:FRIDAY (2).

A comrade from a Hungarian Anarcha Feminist group reminded th comrades from the West that many ex-soviet bloc Anarchist gro are unstable and that we should be careful about who we give and assistance to. However, she realised that the problem was Westerners have little accurate information about these group

A comrade from the SAC stated that when giving help to KASKOR had tried to be careful. There was a written contract laying how the equipment was to be used, and, in theory, SAC still h say in its use. However, there were different ways that the agreement could be interpreted. It had been intended that the facilities would be for all revolutionary syndicalists.

The question remains what can be done to prevent such a thing happening again.

On the subject of an information network linking various organisations in several countries, the Secretary of the rece reformed National Confederation of Labour in Bulgaria (Nikola Mlodenov) noted that during the 1930s there had been an info network linking Sofia, Stockholm, Barcelona and Buenos Aires. modern communications systems it should be easy to set up a similar network in East and Cenral Europe. He supported the i of a new network.

One of the FAU delegation (Brigitte) suggested that instead o immediately setting up a center and formal information networ easy first step would be to issue a bulletin put together wit themes and planning decided at this meeting. She suggested th few issues could be done as a test project.

The representative of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Zaporozie (Artour Grigorian) stated that they alrea have enough money to buy a printing machine, but needed help finding a good, economical one here in the West.

The delegate from ILA Ukraine stated that the structure for a ordinating council already exists; the question was who shoul on it, from which organisations, in which country should it b based. In the Ukraine there are already printing facilities, bank account for roubles. A further bank account for western currencies to be sent to for the Anarchosyndicalist movement exists in Minsk, White Russia. It was necessary to determine rights and framework of a council and its functions. It shoul ordinate direct action, exchange information and publish for movement. There should be a legal status and form to control regulate the council, to function as a conflict commission an control printing facilities.

The Hungarian comrade asked if this had clearly been agreed u She wondered if it was really what we wanted and needed.

MINUTES:FRIDAY (3).

A member of FAU Berlin local group (Barbara) then made a series of suggestions.
1. A future information center should be situated where printing facilities already exist.
2. There should be yearly meetings of interested groups to decide if it continues in that place. The meetings could be more frequent if necessary.
3. The Bulletin "editorial" group should make no editorial decisions, but publish all that contributors send to it. The costs of bulletin production should be covered by the contributing groups. The cost of postage should be covered by those groups which receive the bulletin.
4. Western Anarchosyndicalist organisations could help in various ways;
by producing a "solidarity" edition of their own papers in Russian, writing and/or choosing already written articles and sending them to an East European "translation" group which would pay translators (Eastern pay rates, creating jobs funded from the west) and send the translated material to the Bulletin group. The "solidarity" edition would go out as a supplement to the regular bulletin.
by sending copies of their regular papers and publications to East and Central European Anarchosyndicalists; even if they can't be read they would be appreciated.

The comrade from IREAN (Vadim Damier) stated that printing machines were hard to get in Russia and Ukraine, and that it was unrealistic to expect to use KASKOR equipment. However, one Moscow group has already got a printing arrangement with a commercial printer.

It was then suggested by a FAU comrade (Brigitte) that we, the Western groups and IWA secretariat, could provide funding if the East European delegates present could form an Editorial group together.

The International Secretary of the FAU (F.Richardson-Schäfer) then asked the East European delegates if it was more important for them to set up a printing center with all the problems that it presented (Technical and "personality/ideological" conflicts) or if it was better to put a bulletin together as had been already suggested? If commercial printing really was cheap at the moment in the ex-soviet bloc then a few issues could be produced at low cost. All that was necessary was for contributors to send information and articles to an editorial/lay out group. A bulletin could be assembled, printed and distributed in much the same way as the FAU paper "DIREKTE AKTION". The FAU I.S. would propose to the FAU GeKo (co-ordinating commission) that they should help with funding from the FAU for a short run of bulletins, but could not recommend to the FAU that they contribute towards funding a printing center in the present situation of instability.

MINUTES:FRIDAY (4).

There was then some discussion among delegates, leading to agreement on the technical problems for a printing center and again noting the instability of the situation in the ex-soviet bloc and the instability of some parts of the Anarchist and Revolutionary Syndicalist movement in those countries.

The comrade from Zaporozie (Artour Grigorian) suggested that a bulletin could start with the exchange of information and newspapers on a more regular basis. He stated that his organisation needed a printing press for itself as they have some projects already planned, e.g. a union paper, and some paid printing work for other groups and individuals. They have table top printing facilities already, and stated again that they have $10,000 to spend on a larger machine.

From the FAU, Brigitte again put three questions;
1. Could we help find a printing machine during this meeting?
2. Could we form a bulletin editorial group now?
3. Could we select some themes for pamphlets?

On the subject of pamphlets, the comrade from IREAN (Vadim Damier) suggested the publication of Rudolf Rocker's Principles of Anarchosyndicalism, as well as bringing out pamphlets on current Anarchosyndicalist methods and practise. He stated that translations are best made in the ex-soviet bloc, both for accuracy and for creation of work there.(He can translate from German to Russian himself, and has already made a translation of the IWA statute.) He stated that IREAN have so far produced two issues of a Russian language "A INFO" with news of Anarchosyndicalist activities collected from the Left Information Center Bulletin. These were produced in a small print run, and sent to people and organisations in the West where they knew that there were people who could read Russian.

From the ILA Ukraine delegate (Vladislav Strelkovsky) came a suggestion that a paper that already exists could be used as a bulletin. There is the publication called "Black Flag". This is not the official organ of the ILA, but is close to them. It is legally published, but it is not a legal entity, therefore it is not controlled by the state and pays no taxes.

At this point it was noted that a small print run bulletin (30 to 40 copies) would cost about DM 40 per issue at present exchange rates. With Xerox or Roneo matrix machines, 50 copies currently cost DM 1. At these low prices an issue could be published every couple of months at an annual price of about DM 250, plus postage.

There was then a break. After the interval there were some suggestions about the remaining days agenda.

There was then a report on the situation in the Ukraine from Artour Grigorian, noting both general developments there, and the development of the Anarchosyndicalist movement, especially in Zaporozie.

MINUTES:SATURDAY (1).

The session began at 13.00.
There were three points to clarify;
1. The Bulletin, its editorial group and its cost:
2. The next meeting:
3. Pamphlets, the themes and producers remained unclear.

First, it was again noted (Artour Grigorian) how hard it was to set up a bulletin because of translation, postal, technical and group stability difficulties. Though a bulletin would be useful, a better publication exchange would be the best first step. This should at least be agreed on as a step towards the formation of an information and co-ordination network. However, if we agreed on a bulletin, he suggested that the different groups send material to Zaporozie to be translated into four languages and published from there. He stated that printing and postage is still very cheap in Ukraine. He proposed a monthly bulletin and a quarterly theoretical journal.

From the FAU, Brigitte stated that this was too grand. It would be better to find an available printing press or commercial printer and do a simple, one language bulletin to be translated into local languages by recipient groups.

Vadim, for IREAN, believed that exchanging information and papers was not enough. A simple bulletin was needed. Each group should get one copy. A low print run was therefore all that was needed. There should be one editorial place agreed upon. There should be a limit of 2 or 3 sides from each group, therefore eliminating the need for editorial decisions. He suggested an issue every three months. It shoul be in Russian and English only.

However, Artour believed that it was important to have a bulletin in four languages. If two, why not four?

The comrade from the SMOT office in Paris (Alexandre Tchoukaev), responsible for the already existing SMOT bulletin which comes out in more than one languge edition, reminded us that translating and editing a bulletin is hard work.

Brigitte, for the FAU, asked if anyone was against Russian and English versions as a start. She proposed that material could be sent in any language and translated by the editorial group,or by paid translators if needed.

The comrade from ILA Ukraine (Vladislav Strelkovsky) suggested that we lay down simple guidelines for reports of activities contributed to the bulletin; Who, Where, When, Why. There should not be too much more in the reports.

Reactions from other delegates were that it was not necessary to lay down limits like those above as most people would write short reports only anyway. A limit of three sides had already been proposed. If groups wanted to contribute more material, which was a possibility, then they should be willing to pay for it. Groups should pay the subscription even if they did not contribute articles.

MINUTES:SATURDAY (2).

Vadim Damier for IREAN noted that it is often difficult to get enough material to fill a bulletin. Usually only two or three groups send articles. Fax costs were relatively high. Most organisation don't have much money, and to avoid the problem that groups without enough funds would not get the bulletin we must find independent funds for its production. He again noted the low printing costs in Russia.

On the point of where to produce a bulletin, Vladislav Strelkovsky of ILA Ukraine stated that where he now worked there was all the technology needed, copiers, fax etc. He said that faxing material was not expensive in Ukraine.

There was discussion about faxing at this point. It was clear that many groups would like to be able to fax information and bulletin articles to one another but it was felt by many delegates that faxing from a private business was not a good idea, even if fax machines were few and far between. However, it was noted that the alternative, the postal service, was slow and uncertain.

Comrades from Moscow SMOT said that the SMOT have two fax machines useable, one in Moscow, one in Minsk. This speeded up their activities and helped with information exchange, also with Paris.

Barbara from the FAU said that a further problem to be kept in mind was that paper was not always easy to get. There were some supply problems to be solved.

At this point Brigitte from the FAU made the proposal that IREAN should do the first four issues of a bulletin from Moscow, if possible using the SMOT fax.

The comrades from the SMOT discussed this, and stated that there would probably be no problem. They would try to get it cleared.

There was then further discussion (in Russian only) about the technical problems of faxing in the ex-soviet union.

Afterwards, Vadim of IREAN said that an editorial group in Moscow was OK , but that distribution from there might be hard. Fax wasn't the best method of communication.

Brigitte said that fax should only be for emergencies. Otherwise articles for the bulletin should be sent by post, and the bulletin should also be distributed by post. Was this alright?

No one objected to this proposal.

There was also consensus that there should be no editing. All articles contributed should be printed. It remained unclear how many copies of a bulletin should be printed or were needed.

MINUTES:SATURDAY (3).

Vadim stated that IREAN could do the layout, production and distribution of four issues, in English and Russian. Cost was uncertain. IREAN would need an address list from the meeting organisers. Post would be the usual communication medium, fax when urgent. There remained open the question of funding; funds from this meeting should be given to finance the first issue, ways of sending funds for later issues should be arranged. He asked if the SMOT fax could possibly be used to send out the bulletin when needed.
The SMOT delegates from Moscow said that the print quality of their fax machine was low, but that it was OK in principle.

Will Firth of the FAU noted that there still remained the question of rotation of the editorial group; how often? Also there was still the question of the date and place of the next meeting. Perhaps these points coincided, with a new editorial group and location to be decided at the next meeting?

A proposal to be agreed on was then formulated.
1. IREAN will be the first editorial group.
2. They will produce four issues of an information bulletin.
3. It will be in Russian and in English language versions.
4. There will be no active editing or censorship of contributions.
5. IREAN will copy or print the bulletin and distribute it.
If this was approved the finances and technical problems could be worked out.

There was then some discussion about the problems, costs and possibilities of translation from Russian to English.

Thomas Beckmann of the FAU suggested that the FAU Eastern region co-ordination could help with East/West co-ordination and distribution. Perhaps it would be possible to distribute the bulletin with the IWA bulletin or as a supplement to it, or to distribute it to the West subscribers out of Berlin?

However, Barbara of the FAU noted that it was cheaper to send post to the West from Moscow.

After once more checking with the IREAN delegate about printing costs, the IWA secretary offered DM 100 to finance the start of a simple bulletin similar to the FAU International News Flash. He said that it was important to start.

There was then discussion on the name of the bulletin and the relationship to the IWA.

Pepe, the IWA secretary , said that he would ask the IWA sections not present at the meeting to support the bulletin and to give a mandate that the bulletin should come out with IWA help.

Barbara thought that it was important to state clearly that IWA sections could contribute to and receive the bulletin, but that it was not limited to IWA sections.

MINUTES:SATURDAY (4).

There was a short discussion among some FAU delegates about the role of the bulletin at this point.

It was still unclear to Brigitte if the bulletin should be primarily a co-ordination and information bulletin for East and Central Europe, or a bulletin for East/West information exchange.

Barbara stated that it should be first a bulletin for East and Central European Anarchosyndicalists, but that it should also give news and information about Anarchosyndicalism in the West as well as in the East.

Adding to this point the ILA Ukraine delegate, Strelkovsky, noted that there is already an IWA bulletin which could be translated. It was not necessary to start a second bulletin just to do the same job.

After an interval, and some informal discussion, Vadim of IREAN said that he would send out a circular and inform interested groups that this meeting has decided to produce a bulletin with IREAN as the first production group. The first copy will be free. IREAN will ask for material in Russian and English. He asked for material for issue #1 as soon as possible.

Articles and information were promised from;
1. IREAN 2. SMOT 3. FAU International Secretary
4. IWA Secretariat (to be selected from IWA Bulletin).

For the first issue at least the name will be "A S INFO".
It will be subtitled "OPEN BULLETIN FROM THE FRIENDS OF THE IWA".

Discussion then returned to the date and place of the next meeting.

Artour, the comrade from the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Zaporozie, Ukraine, suggested that we could hold the next meeting in Zaporozie. A suggestion that the next meeting should be next summer was approved. July or August would be the best time in the Ukraine. To organise the meeting the CITU Zaporozie will need an address list. An offer from Vladislav of ILA to take guests on a "Makhno Trail" guided tour was well received.

Then the text of a protest letter to the authorities in Moldavia about their persecution of our comrades Tamara and Igor was read out in Russian. Will Firth of the FAU agreed to make a translation into English for the Sunday session. This point was then postponed until Sunday.

To finish the day's session there was a proposal from Barbara about the contents of a press release. It should contain; news of the start of our "A S INFO" bulletin, the text of our protest letter about repression of Anarchosyndicalists in Moldavia, and a summary of the facts about this meeting, the participants and topics dealt with.

MINUTES:SUNDAY (1).

It was noted by the meeting that greetings to the meeting had been sent by the Workers Solidarity Alliance (USA IWA section), from a KAS group, from the FAU GeKo (Co-ordinating Commission), and from a group in White Russia. The Irish Anarchist organisation WSM had also sent a letter expressing thanks for their invitation and interest in a report on the proceedings. The greetings were not read. It was suggested by the ILA Ukraine delegate that they could be included in the documents of the meeting.

The English and Russian versions of the protest letter to the Moldavian authorities were read out. The letter was in two parts. First, a protest text, to be signed by delegates of all the groups present. Second, a text explaining our protest to other Anarchist, Anarchosyndicalist and Human rights groups, e.g. Amnesty.

The IWA Secretary, Pepe, noted that many groups have already protested and the case was generally known to our movement. It was important that the text was included in a press release for the "normal" media.

The ILA Ukraine delegate, Vladislav, suggested that it should be sent to the media of the Trans Dniester Republic.

Vadim,of IREAN, thought it would be good to add a statement that we do not support either side in the Moldavia/Trans Dniester war.

Vladislav thought this was not needed, as it was a human rights issue, not connected to the war between the two republics.

The Bulgarian comrade, Koitscho Koitschew, said that it was important that organisations not represented here should also have a chance to sign the protest letter. This was generally agreed on.

There was a short debate on who to send the letter to. A list was written including several Moldavian government departments, the press in Trans Dniester and Tamara and Igor's families.

THe text was approved.

After a short debate about a press release, Will, of the FAU, agreed to prepare a text. It was to include the points already suggested in Saturday's session. It was to be ready for the German media on Monday evening, and it was to be sent by fax to other groups.

There was also some discussion about finances at this point, with some practical details to be worked out about return tickets for delegates from East and Central Europe and payment by Western delegates for their food and lodgings. The FAU had made it clear that they would meet any deficit.

It was again noted that Western groups wanting to help East European organisations with money could send it to the ILA foreign currency account in Minsk, already mentioned early on Friday. From there it could be transfered to other accounts.

MINUTES:SUNDAY (2).

After an interval the comrades of the FAU Eastern region announced that they would form an East Europe Working Group. This would be to help with East/West co-ordination. At present the group would be made up of Britta, Will and Thomas, with help from Barbara. They have a bank account already, and could open new ones specially for the East Europe Working Group and for the bulletin. They want to meet every month, to deal with post and other matters.
They see their work as follows;
1. To respond to news and requests for information or help from groups in East and Central Europe, or pass these on to other groups dealing with those areas;
2. To co-ordinate help for the above groups;
3. To publicise the activities of East and Central European Anarchosyndicalists in the West.

The FAU East Europe Working Group asks that other groups (East and West) should be notified of their existence. The address is:

East Europe Working Group - FAU Ost
c/o "A Laden"
Rathenowerstrasse 22
D-1000 Berlin 21
Germany.

FAX: 030/3948447

The formal sessions of the meeting ended on this point.
There was then a report on the serious ecological problems in many areas of Ukraine.

PLEASE NOTE: Due to the meeting going ahead in Russian and English, with some parts in German and Esperanto, I do not regard these minutes to the meeting as being perfect or final.
I propose that these minutes are circulated to all participants and that they send any needed ammendments to be added to a final version. At the next meeting in Zaporozie, this final version should then be formally approved as a truthful record of the Berlin meeting.

Frank Richardson Schäfer
FAU International Secretary
* Karlstrasse 11
D-3501 Fuldatal-Simmershausen
Germany * *New Address*

ВСТРЕЧА АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТОВ В БЕРЛИНЕ: О РЕПРЕССИЯХ ПРОТИВ АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТОВ В МОЛДОВЕ

Участники встречи анархо-синдикалистов в Берлине выражают решительный протест против преследований анархо-синдикалистов Игоря Гергенредера и Тамары Бурденко в Республике Молдова. За свои убеждения они подверглись моральной травле, увольнению с работы, угрозам юридических репрессий, шантажу и попыткам физической расправы. Мы считаем недопустимым любое нарушение прав человека, свободы слова, печати и убеждений и требуем от властей Молдовы незамедлительно прекратить преследования анархо-синдикалистов, восстановить Т.Бурденко на работе и материально компенсировать ущерб, нанесенный Гергенредеру и Бурденко. В противном случае мы признаём за И.Гергенредера и Т.Бурденко право самостоятельно принять все необходимые меры в целях личной безопасности и личной неприкосновенности вплоть до оказания активного сопротивления.

Мы призываем все анархо-синдикалистские, анархистские и правозащитные организации во всём мире, всех людей, кому дороги человеческие права, направлять свои протесты президенту Молдовы и в посольства Молдовы в различных странах.

/1-я часть текста - протест, 1-я и 2-я вместе - обращение/.
Протест отправить заказным письмом с описью вложенных документов с уведомлением телеграммой или телеграфом.

Адреса: РЕСПУБЛИКА МОЛДОВА
277001 г.Кишинёв
Площадь Великого национального собрания - 1
Президенту Республики Молдова
Мирче Ион Снегур

РЕСПУБЛИКА МОЛДОВА
277001 г.Кишинёв
бульвар Штефан чел Маре 105
Секретарю парламента Молдовы
Комиссии по правам человека

РЕСПУБЛИКА МОЛДОВА
277012 г.Кишинёв
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РЕСПУБЛИКА МОЛДОВА
277000 г.Кишинёв
Прокуратуре Республики Молдова
Генеральному прокурору

Копии протестных писем послать редакции газеты "Трудовой Тирасполь"
РЕСПУБЛИКА МОЛДОВА, Тирасполь, ул. 25 октября 101

RESOLUTION OF THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST MEETING IN BERLIN ON REPRESSION AGAINST ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS IN MOLDAVIA

The participants of the anarcho-syndicalist meeting in Berlin energetically protest against the persecution of the anarcho-syndicalists Igor Gergenreder and Tamara Burdenko in the Republic of Moldavia. Alone for their convictions they have been subject to a witch-hunt, blackmail and attempted physical violence, they have been sacked from work and threatened with legal persecution. We consider any infringement of human rights to be unacceptable - be it the freedom of speech, freedom of the press or freedom of conscience. Therefore we demand that the Moldavian authorities immediately reinstate T.Burdenko at work and compensate her and I.Gergenreder for injury they have been caused. Should this not be forthcoming, we acknowledge I.Gergenreder's and T.Burdenko's right to independently resort to all means necessary to protect their personal security and inviolability, even to the extent of active resistance.

We call on anarcho-syndicalist, anarchist and human rights' organizations throughout the world, as well as all people who value human rights, to protest to the President of Moldavia and to Moldavian embassies in different countries.

(NB: The first part of the resolution is envisaged as a protest letter, by addition of the second it becomes an appeal). Please send protest letters by registered mail with a postal receipt coupon and list all enclosed documents/papers.

Addresses: MOLDAVIA
277001 Kişinău
Ploshad Velikogo Natsionalnogo Sobraniya - 1
President of the Moldavian Republic
Mirce Ion Snegur

MOLDAVIA
277001 Kişinău
Boulevard Stefan cheu Mare 105
Secretary of the Moldavian Parliament
Human Rights Commission

MOLDAVIA
277012 Kişinău
Boulevard Stefan cheu Mare 73
Ministry of Justice
Minister of Justice A.A.Barbiniagra

MOLDAVIA
277000 Kişinău
Director of Public Prosecutions (Procuratura)

Please send copies of protest letters to the editors of "Trudovoi Tiraspol", MOLDAVIA, Tiraspol, ul.25 oktobrya 101.

ADDRESS LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST EAST-WEST MEETING IN BERLIN, 25-29. November 1992.

Addresses originally written with cyrillic letters (in Russia, Bulgaria and the Ukraine) are given here in the standard English transcription. German, French and other transcriptions differ.
Ph. = (tele)phone, w. = work, h. = home.

NAME:	ORGANIZATION:
Arbeitsgruppe Osteuropa FAU-Ost, c/o A-Laden Rathenowerstr.22 D-1000 Berlin 21 Ph. 30-3946167 Fax. 30-3948441	(=East European Working-Group) Contacts for "A.S.-INFO"
Artour Grigorian UKRAINE 330056 Zaporozhye ul.Yatsenko d.10 kv.69 Ph. 7-0612-622383 (w) -629122 (w)	Confederation of Independent Trade-Unions of Zaporozhye
Budapesti Anarchista Csoport (BACs) H-1399 Budapest Pf. 701/800 Ph. (Peter Szász) 36-1-1341296 HUNGARY	<-
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****

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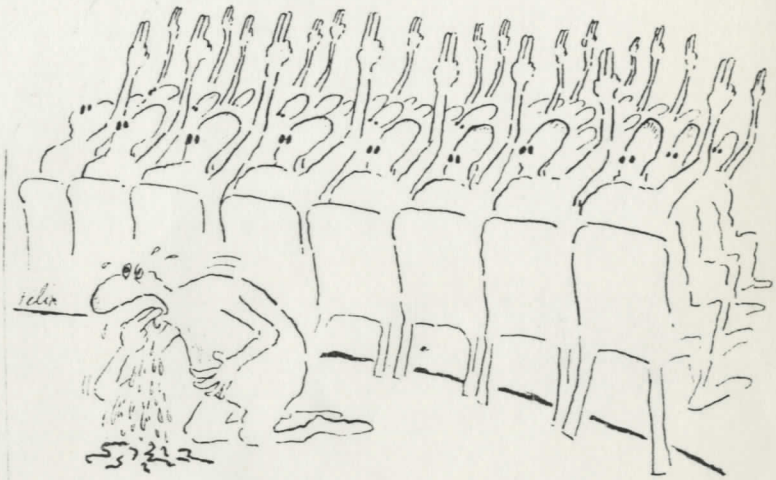

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31808 Plzeň
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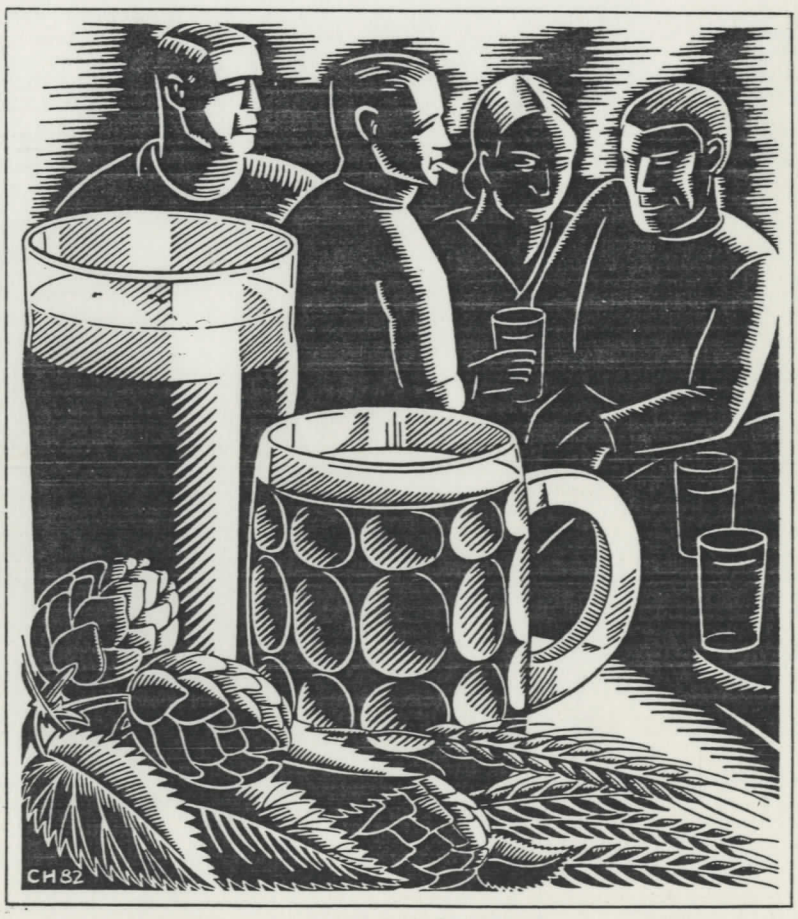
Luboš Res ml.
Šaumannova 10
61500 Brno
ČSFR

Petr Dobeš ml.
Polní 1206
54301 Vrchlabí
ČSFR

Mir. Dusbaba
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